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FELLOWSHIP

July 1943 Vol. IX—No. 7

Starvation and economic anarchy are time bombs whose explosion can wreck prospects for a world peace just as surely in the post-war world as did the events which led up to the fateful September day in 1939 when Hitler sent his panzer units into Poland. That time bomb is ticking now and it must be removed from the family of nations quickly and completely if we are to approach the problem of a lasting peace with any realistic hope of devising a means of ending these world wars which have blighted our century.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Director
Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation

World Potential in American Culture

by

FERNER NUHN

•

Pacifism and Social Evolution — by Charles A. Ellwood

The Task Ahead — by A. J. Muste

•

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

ON the fourth day of July, we shall all be celebrating the independence of this nation, and therewith commemorating the war of the American Revolution. It seems a bit ironic that we thus should be making a festival of the anniversary of a notable military victory over Great Britain, our ally in the war we are now fighting against the Axis powers. One hundred and sixty-odd years ago the English were our enemies whom we feared and hated, as the Germans and the Japanese are now our enemies whom we are expected to fear and hate. Time has healed that ancient feud, and made English and Americans fast friends in this latest struggle of arms. But we still regard the Revolution as a triumph for freedom, and celebrate it with honor and renown.

The American Revolution ranks high among the wars of history. If there ever was a good war, this was it, for the Revolution was fought unselfishly and heroically, for pure and noble ends. Whenever the pacifist argues that wars are what William Ellery Channing called them—"the consensus of all crime"—he is certain sooner or later to be confronted by the American Revolution and the great figures of George Washington and his compatriots, and challenged to concede that there may be wars that are justifiable and even beneficent. Was not the Revolution one such war—and is not the war we are now fighting another?

From this standpoint, and on this particular Fourth of July occasion, it may be useful to recall that there were those actually engaged in the American Revolution who did not think so highly of it or speak so well of it in terms of arms. At least two of the revolutionary fathers referred to war in a way to suggest that all wars are evil and should be avoided, and that the Revolution should be included among the rest.

I

The first of these statements comes from Benjamin Franklin. It was made in direct reference to the American Revolutionary War. It is the famous saying, *"There never was a good war or a bad peace."*

Almost invariably, when citing this quotation from the man who next only to Thomas Jefferson was most largely responsible for the Declaration of Independence it is asserted, in contradiction of its significance, that it was written in the earlier period of Franklin's career, before the Revolution, and that the great man undoubtedly lived to change his mind. But according to Carl Van Doren, in his biography of Benjamin Franklin, the statement in question was made after the Revolution, and on the very occasion of signing the peace that brought the Revolution to a victorious close.

Franklin was one of the Peace Commissioners in Paris. It was on September 3, 1783, at Versailles, that he signed the treaty of peace with England. On the 11th, he wrote to his friend, Josiah Quincy, "May we never see another war! For in my opinion there never was a good war or a bad peace." There is evidence (see letter to David Hartley, February 2, 1780) that Franklin had long held this opinion; but it is all the more impressive as repeated on this occasion when he was signing the treaty that ended the Revolutionary War.

II

The second statement referred to above was made by Thomas Jefferson.

For eight years (1801-1809), Jefferson was President of the United States. During these years there raged overseas the wars precipitated by Napoleon Bonaparte, whom he denounced as a "maniac," a "bandit," and "the Attila of the age." Jefferson was not a pacifist; nonetheless he detested war for its horrors and feared it for its effects. So, through the most tumultuous era of modern times until our own, Jefferson held this country steadfastly in the ways of peace. He would not lead the nation into the European conflicts of the hour. He insisted upon rigorous neutrality. And when he retired from his high office, he spoke these unforgettable words, which might well be the boast of any President: *"I have the consolation to reflect that during the period of my administration, not a drop of blood of a single fellow citizen was shed by the sword of war."*

III

I am sure that neither Franklin nor Jefferson would have their words forgotten. In the light of such words as spoken by such men, it is a profanation to celebrate the Fourth of July as a glorification of the rites of war. If these patriots rejoiced not in arms why should we? And if Franklin prayed that there might never be another war, and if Jefferson in his days of power opposed another war, why should we not profit by their example? If we do so, or try to do so, are we not thus most truly faithful to their ideals and to the republic that they helped to found?

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British Pamphlet Hits RAF "Area Bombing"

Accusing British military officials of setting the Royal Air Force on a deliberate policy of bombing thickly populated residential areas, a startling pamphlet has been issued in England by the Bombing Restriction Committee. Corder Catchpool, honorary secretary, and Prof. H. S. Jevons, acting chairman, are said to be primarily responsible for the pamphlet, which is titled "Stop Bombing Civilians."

Quoting official British sources, the pamphlet presents a well-documented case proving that "area bombing" rather than precision bombing now is the policy of the R.A.F., and that enormous loss of life among civilians in homes, schools, hospitals, and other public buildings has resulted.

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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"Personal pacifism" is not enough to rid the world of war, declares this writer. We also must have "institutional pacifism" to build a "culture of peace."

Pacifism and Social Evolution

By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

Professor of Sociology, Duke University

A LEADING Protestant clergyman recently declared in a public address that pacifism is "sometimes immoral," and a leading professor of philosophy in a Quaker institution has asserted the same view without the qualification. If these gentlemen had understood social evolution they would have said, with more truth and charity, that the pacifist lives ahead of his age, and that true moral leadership in human society consists essentially in doing exactly that.

Pacifism generally falls into two categories: *personal* and *institutional*. Personal pacifism is based upon some accepted theological belief or ethical principle; institutional pacifism ascribes war and the evils that accompany it,—such as absolutism in government,—to the undeveloped condition of human institutions.

Personal pacifism alone will not get rid of the evil of war. To believe so would be something like believing a hundred years ago that the slavery system could be abolished by individual slave owners protesting against the evil of slavery and emancipating their slaves. Many did so and perhaps they hastened the abolition of slavery; but their personal action was not sufficient. When Einstein said a few years back that we could get rid of war if everyone would resolve not to fight he showed only his ignorance of the coercive nature of human institutions and of the present condition of human society. It is very much as though someone should advise us to get rid of pestilence by taking medicines to keep well or remedy disease in our individual bodies. Such action is, of course, desirable; but pestilence will hardly be removed unless we pay attention to the causes that produce it. In the same way, war will not be abolished until we pay more attention to the causes that give rise to war; namely, *military institutions;* for workers in the social sciences are unanimous in their opinion that institutions so mold the attitudes and character of individuals and groups that the responsibility for war must be sought in the social attitudes produced by such institutions.

Those who claim that war is "natural" to man; that it is inevitable on account of "human nature"; or that it is desirable because it secures the survival of the fit and the domination of the superior, now have hardly any standing among the serious and recognized social thinkers of the world. To regard war as an inevitable fatality is simply to brand oneself as sociologically ignorant. The social sciences say there is every reason to believe that war, like pestilence, is preventable, provided there is social intelligence among those who govern mankind.

Perhaps it would be more fair to compare the war system with the slavery system, because slavery, like war, is a device that human groups have used in the belief that it was greatly to their advantage. However, it is simply one of those mistaken adjustments in human relations that human societies have continually made from very early times down to the present. This is not to say that war and slavery did not produce certain benefits in the past for certain groups. It is not necessary to discuss such an historical question. It is only necessary for us to see that *at the present time* we should have outgrown war as well as slavery. War is now a disease that has fastened itself upon civilization. The evidence now is overwhelming that the benefits of war and of war systems are an illusion; for practically every socially intelligent person acknowledges that the Frankenstein of war threatens the destruction of civilization.

If this is true, it is surely time that someone move against this monstrous error in human relations. The conscientious objector and the personal pacifist have been doing this and are entitled to our unstinted admiration. But their testimony is not enough. For large masses of people in every civilized land still seem to think that to guarantee

peace certain nations at least must remain permanently armed. As long as such "war-mindedness" prevails among so-called civilized peoples, there is little hope of bringing war to an end. Only recently a great periodical has disseminated among its English-speaking readers an argument by a British writer that the way to prevent illegal wars is by readiness to wage legal wars, just as, he says, the only way to fight crime is to be ready to commit the same crimes on a legal basis against criminals. Passing over this frightful misrepresentation of modern scientific criminology, it is evident that this writer is quite unaware that he is advocating Hegel's sinister doctrine of "preventive war," which has played such a fatal part in the policies of the war party in Germany. To hold that peace in human relations is kept only through the threat of war is grossly to misrepresent human relations and to misread human history. It is virtually to claim that the world has made no moral progress for the last 2,000 years and that the social application of science and religion to the harmonizing of human relations is impossible, or destined to be a mere farce.

But it is a scientific and historical fact that war between nations has accompanied only certain policies and certain general patterns of life that the more enlightened of mankind have come to recognize as mistakes. The wars of the last 2,000 years, for example, have been largely an accompaniment of empire-building, whether political or commercial. Sorokin has also shown that wars develop under the stimulus of a sensate pattern of life and that peace comes with the acceptance of a more spiritual pattern of life. Neither empire-building nor sensate culture are any longer avowed as sound ethical ideals or as harmonious with democratic institutions. War is obviously a survival of the period in which the rule of force, slavery, and the predatory exploitation of peoples were avowed as legitimate ends of national policy. While politically illiterate statesmen have known no other method of keeping the peace than the threat of war and the use of brute force, our science, religion, and morality have failed to instruct the masses of mankind at this point. Instead, religion has too often taught the masses passive obedience to their governmental authorities, and our science has failed to vision the spiritual unity of mankind. So it is time that the masses themselves undertake the task of bringing war to an end.

It may be said that the parallels with slavery and pestilence do not hold, as war is a matter of international relations. But so, often, were pestilence and slavery. It must be acknowledged, of course, that just as it takes two social groups to make a war, so it takes two groups, at least, to make a peace. Moreover, enduring peace only can come when social groups are enlightened enough to seek "a peace of consent," that is, a peace that is supported by the will of the contending groups. There is no evidence that any other form of peace between groups endures; and pacifists seek a peace that will endure.

From the days of the primitive clan to the present, the area of peace between human groups has been constantly enlarged, but always through forms of social control that worked for peace. No peace is known in human communities of any size that does not rest upon institutions of control. This is the amply established scientific basis for institutional pacifism. This simple principle has not been applied in any effective way to international relations. Obviously, the control must be much more than governmental or legal control. That is true in every human community where peace endures. Peace cannot be enforced without the support of public opinion and social standards which favor peace and the substitution of legal processes for violent conflicts.

In the development of machinery to keep peace between groups of civilized men, it is, of course, possible that some social leaders will emphasize governmental and legal machinery, and others the will and attitudes of the masses of the people. There is no reason, however, why either of these two sides should be neglected. Governmental machinery will avail little if war-mindedness is left among the masses. We must find a way to "demobilize our minds." But world government to maintain peace is just as necessary as government in small communities, because there is always the possibility that some groups will not keep the peace. In the small community we have developed officials to maintain peace who have *no connection with the war system or militaristic institutions.* It is surely possible to do this in the world community.

Several pitfalls threaten any international organization to preserve peace. One is the preservation of war-mindedness among the masses; and the surest way to preserve war-mindedness is to condition every youth to war through military training. This is not only inconsistent with an international peace organization, but as the history of Germany shows, is the most certain way to preserve and develop militaristic institutions. Another pitfall is the preservation of national armament. It is said that no victorious nation after this war will consent to give up its national armament. If this is so we have lost the peace already. No enduring peace is possible with *national* armament. If any armament is to be left, it should be in the hands of the *international* peace organization. Finally, prolonged military occupation of conquered countries will be certain to maintain the prestige of militaristic institutions. All three of these "pitfalls to international peace"—universal military training, armament, and military policing of conquered nations—are bound to make it very difficult to demilitarize the mind of the masses.

The conclusion, therefore, which the scientific student of peace must reach is that enduring peace is possible only through the building of an essentially peaceful culture. This is difficult under present world conditions, but probably not impossible if care and intelligence are used by those who are working for lasting peace. All the higher forms of culture are built by intelligent leadership, and can be built in no other way. *Opposition to present militaristic tendencies, programs, and institutions is, therefore, the first thing needed for the building of a peaceful civilization.* The danger of the dominance of the military mind in government, in education, and in religion should be pointed out, even in war time! The foundations for world peace and cooperation must be laid by those great spiritual controls over human behavior—education and religion. And they must get to work at it now. Probably the religion of human brotherhood can do most to free us from war-mindedness. But if the social sciences ever become mature enough to recognize that their real objective is the welfare of mankind they could do much through education for peace in the schools.

After the Armistice—VI

The World Potential in American Culture

By FERNER NUHN

Author of "The Wind Blew from the East"

THE greatest single hopeful fact in the world at present is the order that lies in the Western Hemisphere, based on a faith in democratic civilization. Most of the world has become aware of this fact, and looks to the strength it sees in it enviously, calculatingly, beggingly, piteously—often with a naive expectation of miracles.

The principle of democracy is the willingness to let other people choose with you, on the same terms, about those vital interests that are felt to be common to all concerned. This has as its essence a faith in the general decency of people when they are given a chance to choose.

In our American history, we have taken this risk of common choice in various areas of our experience, and put it to more and more severe tests. Some of these areas and tests were: early town and church meetings; much of the local colonial governing activity; informal social and political action on the frontiers; the efforts of the thirteen colonies to join in common action, resulting in time in the Federal Constitution; the test of the coming to power of a new and more popular party under Thomas Jefferson; the test of the inclusion of additional states on the same terms, until the number of forty-eight was reached; various broadenings of political rights and cultural opportunities; the test of continued union in spite of deep economic and sociological differences between sections, breaking out at the worst in civil war; the test of the immigration and naturalization of millions of people of varied national and cultural stocks; the test of extending democratic procedures to certain phases of economic activity and to certain phases of international relations.

Our democratic experiments in the international sphere include: some efforts at international arbitration and at international agreements; certain acts of humanity and generosity that have cultivated the international soil; and an increasing practice of consultation with the other countries in the Western Hemisphere. The most successful has been the most daring of these experiments—an unarmed boundary between the United States and Canada. Because of the faith this involves, it has the essence of democracy in it. Important as anything done in this sphere is what was *not* done, namely, that we have not used "divide-and-rule" and balance-of-power tactics, as a policy, in the Western Hemisphere.

But there have been relations inside and outside in which our nation has not taken the democratic risk. Again and again we have used force in foreign affairs—coercion, intervention, dictation. We have discriminated arbitrarily against certain peoples as prospective citizens. In our own land, while Roger Williams and William Penn had shown the effectiveness of respect and good faith in dealing with the American Indians, most of our people were not ready to use these principles here. In relations with Indians, with Negroes who had first been brought over as slaves, with Mexicans whose lands we coveted, and with various other groups in many respects, the record of our experience has much in it that is neither democratic nor happy. Where the risk of good faith has not been taken, the security has always been the least and the trouble greatest.

Yet our positive use of the democratic principle makes the great fact I speak of: a great area of relatively good faith and good relations in the New World. You must look across national boundaries to see the true shape of this fact, and include many avenues of its expression besides formal political democracy. There is the great common background of the coming of millions to a new land, the necessities of mingling, the common efforts at making a new life, and common gratitude for such improvement as was made.

Our distinctive culture grows out of this fact, and in turn has cultivated it. The humor of the people—many kinds of people mingling together—has been released by it, which the world calls "American humor." Hopefulness, energy, good nature have flourished in it. Distinctive men have sprung from it: the many-sided, inquisitive, tolerant, public-minded Franklin; Emerson, with his new sense of the potentialities in any man; Whitman, with his feeling of a broader harmony between man and the natural universe and between men and men; Mark Twain, with his rush of folk humor, fancy, satire, and skepticism. Lincoln shows the heroic size to which a man of character can grow in this soil.

This fact, of good relations, is by far the greatest single asset enjoyed by every person in America. It is the foundation of everything else we value or boast of: our productivity, our wealth, our strength, our security. It is this for which we all ought to give thanks every morning, and pray every night for its continued granting in the grace of heaven. This is our true patriotism. This is what the Statue of Liberty announces to a citizen returning, or a fugitive fleeing, from other less happy scenes. This is what the forty-eight stars in our flag signify. And in the same sort of risks that produced this fact, lies potentially a much greater fact of good relations over a larger area of the world.

To understand that our greatest asset is good relations—and not some other thing such as our natural resources—consider the situation if this asset were removed, yet everything else remained the same. Suppose we knew that the Canadians so mistrusted us that they waited only for a time when we were preoccupied elsewhere to cross the border and claim what they could. Suppose this to be true also of Mexico, Brazil, Peru, and Argentina, insofar as they might reach and injure our interests. Suppose further, that the same were true of sections and groups of people within our borders, and the Middlewest only waited for the embarrassment of the East to make inroads against it,

and the East the South, and the Pacific Coast the Middlewest; and none could depend on the word or good will of the others. Suppose still further that hereditary and religious and ideological groups of one kind or another cut such sharp lines through our society that each waited for the chance to injure another, and none agreed in a common interest except that of defeating a common opponent.

In such a situation, how much even of physical power might we boast? How much security would we feel in our great natural resources, that might at any moment be used against us, and add danger rather than strength? Might we then think, even for a second, of sending armadas of men and might across the seven oceans of the globe?

Our land in such a plight would resemble the world of today. Unfortunately, we still think it wise to act in the larger area in a manner that would destroy our security in the smaller.

We may draw some interesting conclusions about our democratic order as it exists now. (1) It is already not merely national but international in incidence and essence. (2) Formal federal democracy is an important factor in it, but not the only mode of its existence. (3) It does not rest on identity of hereditary or cultural type, but on the fact of common interests extending through such types. (4) Its security is co-extensive with its risk.

All these points give hope, I think, to the prospect of a world culture. The third, perhaps, contains the greatest potential. We have proved that "all kinds can get along"—or at least many kinds—and this is the demonstration most useful to a variegated and clashing human family. Our own best program lies in proving the point further, both in relations within and without our national border.

In fact, our effectiveness outside depends on our make-up inside. Our culture is a sort of composite convex mirror, made up of so many varied bits of glass from the world's store, which we have tried to fit together and polish up so as to focus toward a common center. Here are so many bits of originally English-type glass, so many of Scotch and Irish, so many Dutch, so many German, so many Italian, so many Negro, so many Russian, so many Jewish, Polish, Slav, Scandinavian, Spanish, French, Greek, Indian, Armenian, Chinese, Japanese, and so on. Lining them up a different way, there are so many bits of Catholic glass, so many Lutheran, so many agnostic-scientific, so many Quaker, so many Baptist, so many Four Square Gospel, and so on, of all shades of faith and opinion. Our mirror tries to find some common focus in this sector, too. The mirror is itself our American culture: a thing different from any of the original elements that made it up. Only some new point could focus all the elements that have gathered here; and each element must necessarily adjust somewhat, if it is to focus on that new point.

Distortions in the Mirror

Our mirror, at best, is not an exact model of the world as a whole. We are weak, for instance, in Oriental elements. Still, our sample is a large one, our mirror wide, with a slow curve. The question is how well it reflects the needs and hopes of the samples we have. To the same extent we offer hope to the world and ourselves have a good chance of adjusting to a world united. For this, briefly, is the great problem: that at last we with everyone must make a culture wide enough to mirror the world.

Now, we must note certain internal distortions in our mirror. It reflects some elements better than others, the wants and ideas of the older and better-established stocks better than the newer less-established ones, and of types close to the original English model of mankind better than those further removed from that style. This distortion inside results in an even greater distortion outside, as angles widen with distance. By the time our light rays reach Europe, we find them very much pulled toward the interests of one people there at the expense of the others; and on the other side of the globe, when they reach India, our rays seem to have crossed completely, so as to stand in effect almost opposed to the very thing they stood for at home.

I look for some rectification of our mirror in the natural rise and development of the newer elements in our culture here at home. Such has been the usual case, and will, I think, continue to be: that strange new names which appear first in our factory payrolls and on grade-school blackboards, soon show up in college football line-ups, and then begin to appear on lawyers' doors and in the roll calls of Congress. This is a hopeful factor in the situation. When we find a true sample of all our assortment of names, —English and non-English names, colored-type names and white-type, names from the Mediterranean and from the Baltic—sprinkled through the Foreign Policy Association and the State Department, then we will know we are approaching our cosmic possibilities. Every group may be glad for such a development, for it would mean both the vindication and the fulfillment of those truths stated by the founders of the country, themselves largely of English stock, to which people of every background are so greatly indebted.

Perhaps the present war will hasten this process. For good or ill, I expect that we shall find ourselves with missions of one kind or another in various parts of the world that we have not known very well before, and these may result both in a better reflection of such parts abroad and a greater use of our varied cultural resources at home. Perhaps I am wrong; but here, at least, is an opportunity.

When we come to the wider variations in our cultural pattern—to citizens of different races, with Asiatic, or African, or (ironically enough) original American backgrounds—we come both to the greatest test and the greatest potential in the use of our principle. Here are the really world-wide dimensions of our mirror. Here, too, is the greatest distortion and failure so far.

When I consider the depths of fear out of which has come our action in the evacuation and detention of our people of Japanese descent, and the degree of unbelief it represents in our own ideas, I have forebodings not only as to our usefulness in the evolving of a world culture, but of our survival as a culture in the world. In numbers this group is one of the "leasts" among us. In significance it is one of the most important. Our ability to be faithful in this "least" is a test not only of sincerity but of fitness. How can we suppose ourselves ready to bring freedom and security to hundreds of millions of Asiatics when we have shown ourselves incapable of maintaining the minimum rights of a hundred thousand citizens of Oriental ancestry at home?

Yet I take as good fortune the variety of races and cultures represented in our society. The good faith of these people of Japanese background, with the good faith of other individual Americans toward them, can in time help to transform the whole context of which they and all of us are a part.

In spite of the unhappy auspices under which Negro people arrived in our promised land, I take it as good fortune that they are here. So far as color-shades are concerned, this group rounds out the spectrum of humankind among us! When I think of the qualities they have demonstrated under the most adverse conditions, of tolerance and kindness and power of adjustment and growth and creative expression, I have little doubt of the fullness of their contribution to the whole. From both ends of the spectrum, the amount of development still to be made, for mutual adjustment, is great. But so is the potential result. It is time to give over the whole vocabulary of dismay with respect to this situation. Black with white people may write the passport of our whole community into the future of the world. For, in that country, live people of many shades of color, and a great many more of shades that white people call colored than of the shade they call white. ("Or more correctly, in my case, pink," as Mr. Dooley once remarked.)

World Not Ready for "Four Freedoms"

I do not look for a quick coming of democracy and the "four freedoms" to the four corners of the earth. I see little readiness in any corner for their arrival, and still less preparation being made, either on the part of peoples or leaders in power. Nationalism cannot cast out nationalism, any more than states rights could cast out states rights. Leadership which, unlike that of Madison, Adams, Franklin and the other Federalists, is not ready to refrain from nursing the fears and hatreds and power of the smaller unit is not prepared to cultivate the ground for a larger unit.

The preparation I do see seems rather for national combinations of one kind in restraint of other kinds; or perhaps, on our part, of withdrawal once more into a high-tariff type of self-containment. Both of these tendencies are aspects of nationalism rather than internationalism, and I expect that for some time we shall swing back and forth between them, before we find out that they are as wrong in the larger world as they have proved in our smaller one.

We have grown arrogant, and seem to have forgotten that democracy does not depend on one party alone, but needs the voluntary conviction of other parties. And this is won only by example on our part, as our own history shows in a remarkable way. Dozens of nations, following our example, turned toward democracy in the nineteenth century, before we began trying to spread it by force. Since we have used that policy, as in 1898, 1917, and again at present, the trend has been the other way, and the end is not in sight. We will suffer humiliation, I fear, before we are ready simply to illustrate our faith to the world.

Happily, no individual need wait to show and cultivate democracy. Like the kingdom of heaven, it is within the individual heart. The larger fulfillment waits on the smaller expression, rather than the other way around. The country, Whitman said, is the people; the world, too, is the people; and whatever potential lies in our culture may be realized by any one of us in any human relation. I believe this is true of our American soldiers as individuals and of other Americans in various capacities abroad, that in many human relations they may express much of the hope of our democratic culture.

The Big Lever

Democracy is a discipline as well as a faith. We underestimate its power. When seriously believed and lived, it is a lever to transform any social situation. The leverage depends on the very group-relations of which we have spoken. Each of us is necessarily of this or that blood, background, class, kind, type, and by birth or choice finds himself in this or that company. The power of democracy lies in that we may assert in any smaller group, like or unlike, our membership in the largest group, which is mankind, and be a man or woman in whatever company. That is the big lever that turns all the smaller wheels.

The power to use this leverage comes only with imagination and heart. It takes imagination to see that people are individuals, especially that particular group of people that seems above all others to be standing in the way of the millenium. Even harder, perhaps, is the discipline of seeing oneself as an individual in all situations. This means that we are to borrow no strength from our belonging in some respect to a "dominant" group, and borrow no weakness from belonging in some respect to a "minority" group. For our basic assertion is that we are each a minority of one in a group totaling billions; a very humbling and also a very heartening thought to the individual human being. So that if one is a white Methodist in the Middlewest he may well watch out! it is easy to lose the sense of what an individual is in the world, where so many around him are of his kind. If one is of a "minority" group in some respect, and is continually reminded of being different, he may count it all gain, for this means that he knows by experience things of the human soul which most people may understand only by imagination. This knowledge, provided only that it is seen also as grace, is power of the greatest kind. "God has chosen things which are not to put down things which are."

Our American culture has much to help us in this work of the imagination. It has grown out of the same discipline; and American humor, for example, is wise in knowing how to use the big human lever to upset the small group distinction, the proud little position. Lincoln was a master of this technic, and you may hear your favorite radio comedian use it again this evening. The best of true humor is that it may win its victim rather than lose him, by leaving winner and loser on the same large ground. Whitman breaks through all circles, and shows the pride as well as the humility required to be a true person and democrat. There is often more real faith to be found in our common secular expressions, even when profane and skeptical on the surface, than in the special claims of religious adherence, or the sharp assertions of ideological position. Those who start from the religious or ideological side may profitably study our general American culture for the breadth and detail in it; just as those who start from the literary and aesthetic side will do well to discover the center of faith that religion alone can give. We need both the religious and the democratic faith to build the culture that is deep enough and wide enough to take in the globe.

AS THE FINAL PHASE OF THE WAR BEGINS, FOR WHAT SHOULD FELLOWSHIP MEMBERS PREPARE? WHAT DANGERS LIE AHEAD? THE SECRETARY OF THE F.O.R. HERE PROPOSES SOME SUGGESTIONS.

The Task Ahead

By A. J. MUSTE

IT may be said that we are now in the final phase of the war. This does not mean that the war necessarily will end soon, but indicates rather that those in power are thinking constantly in terms of the post-war period. Even military decisions now are decisively influenced by their effect on post-war power relationships. For example, the question of opening a Second Front through the Balkans may depend for its answer on whether Stalin will permit any Power except Russia to have a foothold there.

In this final phase of a war two sets of problems become important. The first has to do with the nature of the peace and the post-war international setup. Here there seem to be three general possibilities, assuming, as I think we can, that an Axis victory is no longer in the picture.

1. The war may end fairly soon—say this year or in 1944 or 1945—with a fairly decisive United Nations' victory. In that case it seems to me that about all that can be hoped for from the discussion of "peace terms" and the "post-war world order" that engages so many, especially in church circles, is some slight improvement in what will be another essentially bad settlement. The peace is now being determined and there are no convincing signs that the world is ready for fundamental adjustments such as abandonment of imperialism.

Our task in such a post-war world would be partly one of analysis, pointing out as we did in the 1918-19 period that from such policies flows not durable peace, but more war. Moreover, since the period would bring disillusionment and revulsion against war to many, it would be our task to win these people to religious pacifism and to help to train them, this time more effectively, for the crises to come.

It is quite possible that in the United States we should experience a period of so-called prosperity, and with it a pseudo-liberalism, but with authoritarian hangovers such as permanent military conscription and further indoctrination of youth with statism. Even so, pacifists probably would have considerable freedom of action, and the pacifist movement would grow.

2. But the war—or a considerable part of it—may drag on, ending in a stalemate of exhaustion or near-exhaustion for many countries. This probably would bring some kind of fascist dictatorship under which the pacifist movement here would pass through trials similar to those experienced by our comrades in Europe. We cannot afford to lose sight of the possibility that we may need to prepare ourselves for this contingency.

3. It is possible, though it does not now seem likely, that the war may come to what we might call a creative or revolutionary end. On some front or fronts the soldiers might refuse to go on, as happened in Russia in 1917; or a shift in the Orient might bring Gandhi and the non-violence movement there into a position of decisive influence; or the United States might yet take the initiative in calling for an end to the war and a democratic people's peace. Of course, if the war were to end in some such way, the revulsion against war and violence would be tremendous, and pacifists then would be the people who would be trusted and looked to for leadership. For such developments we are still far from ready, and it is this very lack of maturity in our pacifist movement that constitutes one of the serious obstacles in the way of such creative and revolutionary possibilities. Masses of men will not renounce the ways of violence unless we offer them a clear-cut alternative.

Social Tension

The other set of problems that comes to the front in the final phase of a war, and in the post-war period, stem from underlying social conflicts—subordinated during the "social peace" that characterizes the early phase of a war—that now come to the surface in greatly intensified form. If a nation had widespread unemployment before the war, the war will not solve it. The problem will be much aggravated after the war.

As pacifists we shall necessarily have to assume a strong, constructive attitude toward these upheavals. Trying to ignore them would be an attitude filled with the gravest implications.

For one thing, we shall need to pursue more vigorously the objective—often discussed in recent years—of making contacts with other than white-collar groups. We must intensify our work with organized and unorganized industrial workers, the poor farmers, Negroes, Mexicans, etc. We must learn how to bring them "in their own tongues" the good news of the life of fellowship and of faith in the God of love. We must develop techniques of non-violent action that they may use in the struggles before them.

Moreover, as the more ardent spirits in the churches constantly are moving into the field of social action, so will the more ardent religious pacifists, and in particular our younger Fellowship members, move into these realms. Our

experience following 1918 seems to me to make it clear that certain dangers are likely to arise in such a time.

For religious pacifists in general there is the danger of becoming war-resisters in the narrow sense, rather than genuine religious pacifists. The danger, in other words, of acting on the assumption that war can be isolated from the complex social evils and maladjustments that constitute the root of war; that we can get rid of war in itself, but have other conditions go on as they were in 1919 or 1939—including a relatively sheltered and privileged existence for ourselves. A careful re-reading of the FOR Statement of Purpose would be a profitable exercise for all of us in this connection.

There is also the danger of a general conservatism, an adherence to mere respectability, to talk that never results in action, and to an exclusive emphasis on what someone called "doughnuts and coffee for evacuees" as against striving to prevent evacuation. Out of all this grows an attitude of suspicion and fearfulness toward younger elements that are eager to move into more positive and sacrificial action.

Temptations for Activists

For more ardent spirits—our experience following World War I reminds us—there are also peculiar temptations. For example, because of eagerness to work with exploited groups who are not interested in pacifism and who may want to keep away from contact with pacifists, they will be tempted gradually to eliminate their pacifist and anti-war emphasis, forgetting that if it be true that we cannot eliminate war if we cling to an exploiting economic order, it is equally a delusion that the exploited can be liberated so long as the burden of militarism rests on their backs, and that war is the means by which the attention of the masses is constantly diverted from dealing with basic social issues.

There is the danger that concern for action will beget impatience, and impatience for results will lead to confusion and compromise as to means. The temptation will arise to depend on political astuteness and stratagems, rather than on integrity and truth. From such espousal of covert violence it is an easy step to the espousal of open violence if the cause seems sufficiently noble and urgent. I know from personal experience whereof I speak.

Activists will be tempted to revert to secularism. Their religious faith may be weakened; their inner peace destroyed. They may embrace the fallacy that you can produce a revolution without yourself being revolutionized. The means of prayer, meditation, confession and communion may be neglected. The dimension of depth is eliminated from life when this takes place. Let anyone read a single page of Gandhi side by side with a page or a hundred pages from one of his followers who believes in Gandhi's method but not in his faith and way of life, and he will see this point.

Activists also will encounter the temptation of sectarianism and may degenerate into narrow, dogmatic groups characterized by inner haughtiness and contempt for all who do not join their sect or faction and witness in the same way as themselves. Back of this may be a thirst for power resulting from emotional conflict, which in some cases has led to a complete disintegration of the personality.

It is not necessary or wise to make a fetish of organizational unity: the institution exists for man, not man for the institution. But multiplying organizations is not necessarily a good thing in itself, and sectarianism, as the experience of the secular revolutionary movement has so tragically demonstrated, is a mad and sterile thing. It kills the spirit of love and humility. I believe that we must, therefore, explore carefully how various emphases and concerns of Fellowship members may be given most adequate scope for action within and through the Fellowship, while all experience and help to maintain "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

The National Council at its May meeting took a sound course in providing for study by Commissions during the summer of certain matters in which many of us are interested, and for serious consideration of the reports of these Commissions at our General Conferences in the fall.

The Council also took cognizance of the work that has been done by the Non-Violent Action Committee of the FOR to inspire, guide and organize non-violent action in various fields by concerned members. In line with the desire that this work also should be studied carefully during the summer so that definite forward steps might be taken in the fall, the Non-Violent Action Committee is suggesting in a memorandum to group leaders throughout the country, that members who are interested in this work should begin at once to follow a program of discipline and work. The following provisional program is suggested:

1. Serious re-commitment to the FOR Statement of Purpose and, in particular, to exploring the possibilities of non-violence to remove injustice and discrimination and "to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another."
2. Recognition of our profound need for deepening the spiritual life and building up inner reserves if action is to bear spiritual fruit—hence at least one-half hour daily, to be increased soon to a full hour, of private meditation and prayer. Also practice of group worship.
3. Membership in a pacifist cell or team.
4. Simplified living, beginning experimentation in submitting certain basic decisions as to standards of living to group consideration.
5. Each non-violent actionist to work out for himself—or each group for itself—a systematic program of study of the religious pacifist philosophy and way of life and of some field—economic, political, church, labor, rural, prison, war resistance—in which the pacifist way of life is to be applied.
6. Each to consider himself a missioner of the pacifist faith, persistently seeking to win others to it.
7. Participation in non-violent action under group discipline in one or more fields, such as race, civil liberties, labor, "Wage Peace Now," etc.
8. Recognition that we need some such movement as Gandhi's and that this requires the dynamic and efficiency that spring from movement-consciousness and group discipline. Experimentation, therefore, in the development and practice of a pacifist group discipline which shall be inner and spiritual, not mechanical and political in nature.

All these plans are broad in scope and serious in nature. As we move into this new period which is certain to pose grave problems for the pacifist movement, as well as for society in general, it will be well if we move along organically and not mechanically or spasmodically, letting experience and the Divine Spirit guide us. Whatever we do in submission to the Spirit's guidance will be well done; whatever comes out of our own cleverness or self-will or fear will be ill done and will not stand.

CPS in Mental Hospitals

A CONVINCING TEST OF THE VALIDITY OF OUR FAITH

Could the prisons be opened, or the lunatic asylums, because there were enough people of dynamic vitality. . . . to take care of and salvage these few aberrants? . . . I am sure of two things: First, we must cure ourselves and then cure the criminal and the insane, and then, having shown what can be done on a small scale, we can go to the harassed politician and say, "Here we have a demonstrable other-way; will you let us try it?"

GERALD HEARD, in
Fellowship, Dec., 1942.

THE average mental hospital is a gloomy, depressing sort of place. Somewhat improved over the "lunatic asylum" of less than a score of years ago, it still reflects the almost superstitious dread with which most people react to the insane. Reflects also, in a tragically large number of cases, the callous brutality with which men play politics with the lives of helpless, bewildered individuals.

In these United States today there are 600 mental hospitals supported by state funds and administered by state appointees. Their often-devoted and heavily over-worked physicians minister to half a million or more patients.

Even in the days when jobs were scarce these hospitals had trouble in finding enough competent personnel to function properly. Today, with all of the pressures of high wages in war plants, they find it impossible. Attendant and orderly jobs are disagreeable, the pay is low, hours are long and nerve-wracking. As a result, many of the orderlies have been transient, of doubtful sobriety, and extremely unscientific and callous in the treatment of patients.

Stories of brutal beatings and savage near-sadistic "treatments" occasionally leak out and are caught up by the press in a short-lived scandal that seldom achieves any permanent effects.

Into such a situation there have moved close to a thousand conscientious objectors, men who in CPS camps had clamored for "more significant" work and who quickly volunteered for the dirty, difficult orderly jobs as soon as the opportunity was opened. Before the end of the year there probably will be 1,500 of these men in this work, and it seems likely that mental hospitals will eventually divide with forestry, dairy farming, and post-war relief training the great bulk of all CPS men.

Test of Pacifism

Probably no other type of service now available provides quite so rough and rocky a proving ground for the test of the individual's belief in cooperation and nonviolence. Almost every man is squarely confronted with the question of how to handle a fractious or menacing patient, what to do about the regular attendants who answer the question with clubs, belts, or wet, tightly-rolled towels, and how to handle himself in a public relations situation that is often delicate and occasionally strained.

It is to the men's complete credit that in most hospitals the public relations problem has steadily diminished. There are still trouble spots. At Sykesville, Maryland, several CPS men were beaten up during a trip to town. At Medical Lake, Washington, the unit found that some of the regular attendants had quit because of their arrival. Later, when they were issued the regulation white coats, the other attendants took theirs off. "Snubs and sneers were prevalent."

A man who volunteers for a mental hospital finds himself face to face with a concrete test of the theories of reason and kindness on which his stand is based. He must either deliver or back down.

It is safe to say that most of the men are performing satisfactory service. A new CPS attendant in the Philadelphia State Hospital one night was trying to put a violent patient to bed. In the midst of proceedings he was floored by a punch in the jaw, but got up and continued putting the man to bed as if nothing had happened. He has had no trouble with the man since.

Another, working in the hospital at Williamsburg, Virginia, wrote:

"During our stay here most of us have proved to our complete satisfaction that violence is not necessary. Restraint is sometimes needed, but not blows. The power of friendship and trust on the part of the attendant seems almost unbelievable. I was told that in order to get a certain patient to bed, a threat of a cold shower was usually necessary. Commenting to the patient what I was doing, I put the folded linen on his bed. He knew what I was expecting, and an hour and a half later the bed was made up faultlessly. In another ward I saw a fight over a chair. The attendant kindly but firmly told them to stop fighting, and taking the guilty patient by the arm, easily led him still cursing volubly to his room. And the best part about it is that instances like these are the rule and not the exception."

And still another writes from the Philadelphia State Hospital:

"We use the pacifist technique in that we do not strike patients or use force against them in any way except to prevent them from injuring themselves or other patients. Even though some of the patients are mentally on the animal level, they respond like animals to kindness. It helps to restrain violent patients from hurting both themselves and us."

These stories could be duplicated in varying degrees indefinitely, but they all illustrate pretty well the same point. The situation is all the more interesting when it is remembered that one of the most common militaristic arguments is "You can't do business with a madman."

The success of pacifist methods in such situations is not an accidental discovery by these men, however. Doctors in mental institutions confirm the CPS men's belief that such methods make up the correct scientific approach.

Of course mistakes do happen now and then. One CPS attendant—at a hospital which shall here be nameless—refused to lock up five patients one night because he did not believe in coercion. It took the authorities two days to catch them. But in general an intelligent application of the theories of pacifism is steadily improving the situation at a number of hospitals, and promises to be a source of convincing evidence of the validity of our faith.

News from the Peace Front

Growing Racial Tension Shown in Widespread Rioting

As *Fellowship* goes to press, fierce race rioting in Detroit has been halted only by the arrival of U. S. troops, after 25 had been killed (22 of them Negro) and more than 700 injured.

Racial tension in the United States continues to increase dangerously, with new flare-ups of rioting and violence in widely separated sections of the country.

Country-wide interest was stirred by the so-called "zoot suit" rioting in Los Angeles, which reached such grave proportions that the city was declared "out of bounds" by military and naval commandants at near-by posts. Most press reports gave the impression that the rioting took place between soldiers and sailors on the one hand, and gangs of "hoodlums" attired in zoot suits on the other. The weird costume, affected by jitterbugs all over the country, was solemnly described as the "uniform" by which these gangs identified their members, and the Los Angeles City Council carried the farce so far as to forbid the wearing of zoot suits.

Actually, according to reliable witnesses, the rioting was distinctly racial in character. Mexican youths were the principal victims, but the mobs of uniformed and civilian self-appointed vigilantes were willing to compromise on Negroes. Carey McWilliams, West Coast authority on economics and race relations, declared in an article in *PM* that half of those beaten up and stripped were not wearing zoot suits, and that in at least one case a uniformed soldier was threatened with similar treatment simply because he was a Negro. McWilliams reviewed the history of tense relations between Mexicans and whites in Los Angeles, and directly accused the Hearst press of arousing the agitation.

Texas Rioting

The "zoot suit" cases hardly had died down before a very serious race riot took place in Beaumont, Texas, where mobs of shipyard workers roamed through the Negro section, burning, whipping, and looting. Ostensible cause of the affair was the report of the wife of a white shipyard worker that she had been attacked by an unidentified Negro. After the rioting had taken two lives, injured scores of persons, burned out two blocks of Negro business houses and at least 100 Negro homes, a physician's examination of the woman concerned was said by City Attorney Albert Tantum to have "opened her story to question." The doctor found no signs of rape, nor any bruises on her body. Moreover, no fingerprints were found on a cup and saucer from which, she claims, the Negro drank some of her coffee before the attack.

One hospital was full of injured Negroes as a result of the rioting, which at times saw mobs of more than 10,000 men gathered in the little town. Authorities took strong action to end the rioting, with troops and Texas Rangers breaking up the mobs. The sheriff of the town also took commendably strong action, dispersing single-handed a crowd of 100 men who wanted to raid the jail.

Muste Urges Churches Lead Jim Crow Fight

Christian churches, Negro and white, should take the lead in a non-violent campaign against Jim Crow laws and customs, declares A. J. Muste in a just-published pamphlet, *What the Bible Teaches about the Way to Freedom.*

Coming at a period when race riots of alarming proportions are raging in almost every section of the country, the pamphlet warns that a resort to violence on the part of Negroes can result only in disaster and the rise of fascist repressive forces. It calls on Negroes and concerned whites to launch a major non-violent revolt against injustice, and suggests the methods to be used.

West Coast FOR Leaders Appear Before Dies Group

Led by Glenn Smiley, Southwest Secretary of the FOR, a delegation of Fellowship members testified at length before the Dies Committee in Los Angeles last month, during the Committee's investigation of the relocation of Japanese Americans. The other FOR speakers were Kirby Page, Allan Hunter, Norman Taylor, and Allan Hennebold.

Although the attitude of the Committee members was said to be hostile at first, the friendly manner and patent sincerity and honesty of the witnesses disarmed them, and most of the three-and-one-half hour session was conducted in an atmosphere of friendliness.

Peace Conference Sees Colonial Peoples Embittered

The bright hopes roused around the world by the Atlantic Charter are being dissipated among members of the colored races, declared Dr. Rayford Logan, dean of Howard University, at an all-day conference on the post-war world conducted by the National Peace Conference. Dr. Logan proposed that the United Nations make specific declarations at once of their intentions concerning the future status of colonial peoples. He urged the adoption of an improved "mandate system," with the mandated areas including the colonies of vanquished and victor nations alike. These areas, he suggested, should be under the control of a world organization, with the directing committee made up of a majority of members from "non-colonial powers."

Other speakers included Dr. Slotemaker De Bruine, of the Netherlands Information Service; Dr. Arthur Sweetser, Director of the League of Nations; and Dr. C. J. Hambro, President of the League of Nations Assembly and of the Norwegian Parliament.

Approximately 300 delegates attended the conference, which was held under the name "Time Out for Tomorrow." John Howard Lathrop, vice-president of the NPC, presided, and Miss Jane Evans, newly chosen secretary of the organization, was in charge of arrangements and promotion.

Picket Jim Crow Baseball

Six Los Angeles FOR members joined Negro pickets last month at Wrigley Field to protest the ban on Negro ball players. The pamphlets they distributed bore such statements as: "The owners recognize the ability of Satchel Paige and others, so why be deprived of the pleasure of seeing them play?"; "Write Judge Landis and ask him to Americanize baseball."

Teachers Launch Pacifist Study

Three members of the faculty of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, have begun what is intended to be a scientific and objective study of pacifism in the United States. Two of the three teachers are FOR members.

Readers of *Fellowship* who wish to aid in this project by contributing pamphlets, books, and other source materials on pacifism in the United States should send such materials to Prof. R. E. Wolseley, 1915 Sherman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois.

High Court Turns Down Evacuee

The attempt of Gordon Hirabayashi, FOR member, to upset the year-old evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast, failed when the United States Supreme Court upheld his conviction and that of Minoru Yasui for refusal to obey curfew and evacuation orders.

The decision of the Court, written by Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, was unanimous. It declared that "the war power of the National Government . . . extends to every matter and activity so related to war as to affect its conduct and progress," and added, "It embraces every phase of the national defense, including the protection of war materials and the members of the armed forces from injury and from the dangers which attend the rise, prosecution, and progress of war."

Although upholding the lower court's convictions, Stone warned that the opinion did not imply that the military in war time are subject to no restraints whatever, or "that they are free to impose any restrictions they may choose on the rights and liberties of individual citizens or groups of citizens in those places designated as 'military areas.'"

The opinion also emphasized that all rights and privileges must be restored to citizens at the end of the emergency.

Two more appeals are pending which, if the Supreme Court agrees to hear them, may prove to be a more clear-cut test of the evacuation itself than the Hirabayashi and Yasui cases. The latter were based primarily on violations of curfew regulations applied before the evacuation took place.

Landes and Will Leave Fellowship Positions

The Fellowship will miss greatly the services of Carl J. Landes and Herman Will, Jr., who, to our great regret, left our staff of regional secretaries in June. Carl Landes has accepted a call to be pastor of the Methodist Church at Merom, Indiana. Herman Will has been called up by the draft and is at Civilian Public Service Camp 94, Trenton, North Dakota.

Carl Landes entered our employ as a temporary Secretary of the Midwest region, taking charge of the Chicago office from May, 1940 to September 1, 1940. In September of that year he took up the work of Rural Secretary, working in the field from his base in the Chicago office until his transfer in February, 1941 to rural headquarters in Merom. He was the Fellowship's first Rural Secretary and he has ably and faithfully laid the foundations for a ministry of the FOR gospel to rural folks, a project of immense importance requiring the patience and resourcefulness of a missionary pioneer. He has sold us his dream and sown good seed in the field which should grow into a harvest.

Herman Will took over the work of the FOR Midwestern Secretary in April, 1942, when Donovan Smucker, who had succeeded Carl Landes in the Chicago office in September, 1940, resigned this position to become minister of the Mennonite Church at Wadsworth, Ohio. Herman has done a masterly job in the thirteen months he was with us.

The expansion of the Midwestern work by Landes, Smucker, and Will was a pioneering job that called for planning and development of the Fellowship's program in an area comprising ten populous states, the work radiating from our Chicago center. In the period under review—from May, 1940 to May 31, 1943—the membership in the Midwestern area has increased by approximately three thousand.

We hope shortly to be able to announce the successors to Landes and Will. The gratitude and confident good wishes of the Fellowship's Council and members goes to these FOR servants who have labored so effectively, and advance now to new positions of witness for the faith at the heart of our movement.

Reports Anti-War Feeling

Reporting a "deep and widespread conviction that the method of war is utterly wrong," Kirby Page, well-known pacifist preacher returned recently from a 15-week speaking trip during which he spoke to "the most appreciative audiences in my experience."

He found, he said, much disillusionment about the war. The feeling of the wrongness of war, he declared, is more widespread than it has been since the fourth century.

A group of men in CPS Camp No. 37, located at Coleville, California, have begun the collection of printed materials of all kinds dealing with the evacuation, internment, and relocation of Japanese-Americans. They are requesting that friends send them any feature articles culled from periodicals, papers, and pamphlets.

IFOR News

Word has come through an authoritative source that Pastor *André Trocmé* and School Principal *Edouard Theis* have been permitted to return to Le Chambon-sur-Lignon in France, where they have taken up their former important work for the children and people of that area. It will be remembered that the Fellowship school and children's colony were under their charge.

Pierre Ceresole, founder of the International Voluntary Service Pacifist Movement, who crossed into Germany last December and was imprisoned there for three weeks, has declared that these weeks were among the most satisfying that he has ever experienced. He had a discussion with the director of the prison—a virulent anti-Semite—and also had valuable talks with prisoners on the subjects of the Jews and pacifism.

Isaac Goss, member of IFOR Council and a treasurer of the British FOR for more than twenty years, died in London on May 23, 1943. He had suffered for several years from a serious internal ailment which was aggravated by worry incident to the war and the destruction of his business establishment in Newgate Street during the bombing of London. The Fellowship was a major interest in his life, to which he gave intense devotion and unlimited time. Absolutely unshakable in the pacifist faith, and courageous in the Fellowship's financial battle, he identified himself with the organization's program and policies for a full quarter century. The measure of this devotion stands out in death.

Patricia McHugh, of the American FOR, who was a missionary in Korea, is now in a Japanese internment camp in the Philippines.

The Canadian Fellowship was officially affiliated last month with the IFOR. The pressure against Christian pacifism in Canada during the present war has been much stronger than in Britain or the United States, at least six ministers having been forced out of their pastorates.

NOTES from the National Office

There is a need for office workers, to do clerical work. Typing ability essential, but shorthand not. Please send word of available people to Irene Ford, Office Secretary.

Members of the Fellowship are asked to make themselves an informal clipping service, sending any items about the FOR or of interest to it to A. J. Muste.

The National office will be closed Saturdays during July and August.

Civil Liberties Issue Eases in CPS Crisis

Substantial progress has been made in dealing with the issue of civil liberties raised by General Hershey's order of March 31, 1943, forbidding CPS men to attend a Social Action Conference at Chicago and asserting the policy that CPS men are at all times under Selective Service control.

A number of men attended the conference and became technically AWOL, and were ordered by Selective Service to be deprived of all leave privileges.

It is clear by now that the Friends and Brethren Service Committees have not forwarded this order to the directors of camps under their administration, thus making it clear to Selective Service that they would oppose a policy of punishment in this situation.

There was talk also of transferring these men to the newly established government camp, but indications are that the Service Committees and NSBRO oppose any such policy.

The Service Committees apparently have made so clear to Selective Service their concern about the civil liberties of COs that it may be inferred that in the future they would not transmit such a totalitarian order as General Hershey's of March 31.

It is still uncertain whether the men who attended the Conference must lose three days furlough for every day away from camp, which would amount to a year's furlough for some. This has been the regular penalty for AWOL, but it is obviously a question whether it should be applied in this instance.

First Government C.O. Camp Opens July 1

A camp for conscientious objectors will be opened by the United States government, through the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service, on July 1, at Mancos, Colorado. The camp will have no connection with the National Service Board for Religious Objectors or with any of the so-called "peace churches," but will be entirely government-run and financed.

The new camp is open to any men now in CPS who wish to transfer, as well as to new assignees who express a desire to be sent there. The government will provide maintenance, work clothes, medical and dental care, and an allowance of three dollars per month. Other provisions are expected to be similar to those now in effect under CPS.

The U. S. Court of Appeals in New York discharged Randolph Phillips from the army on May 7 in a 2 to 1 decision, and directed his reclassification by his draft board as a conscientious objector. He accepted induction last March after his appeal was denied by his local and appeal boards. His discharge is the result of a writ of *habeas corpus* suit through his counsel, Osmond D. Fraenkel.

Correspondence

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The National Committee on Conscientious Objectors of the American Civil Liberties Union is urgently in need of funds. Contributions have been exhausted and the Committee must raise $2,500 at once in order to carry on its work during the coming summer.

Close to 1,700 conscientious objectors are in prison (as against 500 in the last war) and forty or fifty more each week are being sentenced to serve, usually from three to five years. The NCCO, with offices in both New York and Washington, is endeavoring through the courts and with administrative officials to effect the parole of hundreds of these conscientious objectors from prison; to contest draft board errors of classification, such as those based on a sectarian and discriminatory interpretation of "religious training and belief"; and to challenge the authority of military officers to administer Selective Service and Civilian Public Service, which were created by Congress as wholly civilian agencies.

Prompt action is needed. Checks should be sent to Evan W. Thomas, Treasurer, National Committee on Conscientious Objectors, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York (10).

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

They Lend Their Money . . .

Will You GIVE Yours?

For the cause of military victory our fellow citizens are *lending* great sums of money to the government, at a good rate of interest. For the cause of human brotherhood, will you *give* yours? Never in the world's history has the need for such work as the F.O.R. is doing been so great, nor the opportunities so challenging.

War Takes No Vacation!

The post-war world is being shaped, *now!* Men are dying, *now!* We cannot permit a "summer slump" to slow up our work at this crucial time. Our need of funds is urgent . . . *now* . . . to carry on these and other activities:

- Publication of peace literature (three times 1941 volume)
- Forerunners (peace work with young people)
- Aid to Japanese-American evacuees
- F.O.R. work overseas
- Aid to victims of war
- Educational work for peace
- Aid and counsel to conscientious objectors

(For a fuller explanation of the F.O.R. work, read again Fellowship Agenda—1943, *mailed recently to all members.)*

Send all contributions to

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

2929 Broadway **New York 25, N. Y.**

"Listen, Soldier . . ."

General Lewis B. Hershey, national director of Selective Service, may have been unconsciously showing the effects of so much dealing with pacifists when he appeared before the House Appropriations Committee the other day. Commenting on the large proportion of rejections by draft boards, General Hershey added, "When it appears that about a third of your rejections of white soldiers are for mental and nervous reasons, you take pause to wonder how you can run a successful war. Maybe we are all unfit for modern war."

However, such doubts evidently are not weighing heavily on the military mind. Lieutenant General George S. Patten, Jr., writing to a ten-year old boy who wanted to become an army mascot, gave this reassurance: "You can be sure there will be more wars . . . and I feel convinced that being a boy from Texas you will give a good account of yourself."

The wisdom of the general in making any such prediction evidently is not to be questioned, either, if Chaplain Edward Trower is correct in the statement published over his name in a recent issue of the *Hospital Church Bulletin,* of Miama Beach, Florida. Chaplain Trower scotched any doubts about the infallibility of the military in these ringing words:

". . . Listen closely, soldier. All authority is God's and comes from God to the people. The people, by vote, invest this God-given authority in the President. The President passes it on to the Army and the Army shares it with that 'stuffed shirt' 1st Lieutenant who, in turn, exercises that Divine Authority over you for your good and the good of the nation. The point to remember is that all legitimate authority is *from God himself* and is part of God's own authority. That gives a truly sacred character to your superior officer, and he has a God-given right to your respect. What if you do think he's a pill with no brains? He *still* represents *God* for *you.* So when you salute him, you're not saluting a human 'pill' whom you can't stomach. You're saluting his office and his authority which is from God. In a very real sense you're saluting God himself. Whether he's a gold-barred Lieutenant or a four-starred General, your salute is to the God he represents.

"So get some snap and vigor into that salute! Make it smart and trim and respectful enough to mean: 'Yes, sir, God!' 'Good morning, God!' "

Pacifists should read *Ventures in Simpler Living,* by D. J. Fleming. Was $1.00; now 70¢. Order from FOR Lit. Dep't.

Forerunners Gets Good Reception

Prospects for a considerable expansion of the work of the FORERUNNERS, FOR-sponsored organization for high-school-age young people, looked increasingly bright during the past month as reactions to the material and program of the group continued to come in from the field.

Although inability to locate a full time secretary for the work has held up promotional activities somewhat, more than 600 Action Kits have been ordered and sent out. Several hundred young people have become members of the FORERUNNERS and a considerable number of them already are meeting regularly in local "chapters."

One aspect of the work that is stressed particularly at the present time is the possibility of including the FORERUNNERS Studybooks on the programs of already organized groups of young people. Both the studybooks already issued, as well as those scheduled for production later on, are adapted to the use of church young people's societies, high school discussion groups, Hi-Y forums, etc. Fellowship members are urged to bring these to the attention of program-making individuals and committees during the summer so that they may be included in fall and winter schedules.

FOR Members Urge Immediate Peace

Nineteen Chicago FOR members conducted a poster walk through downtown Chicago on Memorial Day holiday, proclaiming the need for an immediate people's peace. The group met with no violence, and succeeded in distributing more than a thousand leaflets explaining the non-violent alternative for resisting fascism and the bases for a People's Peace Now.

New Rural Pamphlet

The Rural Community Cooperative Conference, at New City, N. Y., is preparing a monograph on "Living Standards and Techniques in Contemporary Group Living Experiments," it was announced recently. The Conference is urging all who "feel a concern" on this matter to contribute ideas and experiences before July 31.

Non-Military Colleges

In the April *Fellowship* there appeared an item about the refusal of Earlham and Adrian Colleges to turn over their facilities to the military. Since then, La Verne College in La Verne, California; Manchester College in North Manchester, Indiana; Bridgewater College in Bridgewater, Virginia; and Bluffton College in Bluffton, Ohio, have adopted similar stands. The latter institution is a Mennonite school while the three former ones are Brethren colleges.

These colleges have thus committed themselves to a policy that may lead to financial and other problems in the coming semester. It may be well for pacifist families to consider these colleges as possibilities for their children.

Columbus Group Starts Co-op House

The FOR group in Columbus, Ohio has, in cooperation with others, formed an "Association for Cooperative Life" among students at Ohio State University. The Association plans to acquire and maintain one or more houses near the campus where students will live together without respect to color, creed, or nationality. The establishment of such a house is an urgent matter, as housing conditions are now such that colored students have to live from four to six miles away from the campus, have great difficulty in finding suitable restaurants, and find few recreational facilities open to them.

JIM CROW

Saboteur of a Better World

Racial tensions in America have reached the breaking point. Here are two important contributions to thinking and action in this field

Just Out

What the Bible Teaches About the Way to Freedom

By A. J. MUSTE **.05**

Interracial Primer

By BAYARD RUSTIN **.15**

FOR Literature Department

2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.; *Midwest:* (Not yet filled), 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 1411 West 22nd Street, Los Angeles, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Rohrer, 3441 West 39th Ave., Denver, Colo.; *Rural:* Warren Nelson, Merom, Ind.; *Refugee:* Marion Frenyear, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

The Comintern and the War

America, Russia and the Communist Party in the Post-war World, by John L. Childs and George S. Counts. John Day Company. 92 pp. $1.25.

The Commission on Education and the Post-war World, appointed by the American Federation of Teachers, and of which the authors, long identified with Teachers College at Columbia University, are members, chose this subject for its first report "because it believes this is the most difficult and crucial problem confronting the American people in their struggle to win the war and the peace." At the close of the war, the authors hold, Russia will be the most powerful nation in the Old World and the United States in the New. "Without the effective collaboration of these two great powers, the likelihood of another world war is great; with such continuing cooperation in the post-war period there are no insurmountable barriers to the development of a lasting peace." The authors also believe that for the peace to endure it must be a "peace of reconciliation of peoples and nations" that has moral foundations, and that "the acid test of the moral basis of the settlement will be the opportunity it provides for the peoples of the defeated nations to share in the life of the post-war world." I agree heartily with this statement. It is where fruitful discussion of the peace must begin.

The book rejects three common patterns of thought regarding our relations with the Soviet Union: (*a*) that the Soviet Union has abandoned socialism and has embraced cultural and political democracy, which the authors describe as "a dangerous form of wishful thinking"; (*b*) that we have nothing in common with the Soviet Union, and that the two nations and the systems for which they stand will in course of time necessarily "engage in a bitter and violent struggle to determine which . . . is to dominate the earth"; (*c*) that Britain and the United States, excluding Russia and China, should seek to dominate the world.

If there is to be a peace based upon a good understanding among the United States, Great Britain, China, and Russia, the first necessity, according to the authors, is that Russia "repudiate the Communist International and all its works." "So long as this instrumentality is tolerated and employed by the Soviet government, genuine confidence on the part of her collaborators of the United Nations in her good faith will not be possible." The authors also believe that "the American Communist Party is an unqualified liability from the standpoint of effecting mutual understanding and genuine collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States." It has fed "reactionary and fascist tendencies in our society." The conflict between democracy and "this revolutionary, conspiratorial group is, in the last analysis, a conflict of two moralities," and so the American Communist Party also must dissolve itself.

The stir occasioned by the first publication of this book, which was marked by frequent charges that it was creating ill will between the United States and her Soviet ally and playing Goebbel's game, had hardly begun to subside when Stalin's announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern, or Third International, came. This announcement has been hailed with practically unanimous satisfaction, which furnishes one more illustration, if it were needed, of how men's judgments are biased by what they regard as expedient in the prosecution of the war. What was Nazi propaganda one day becomes the most brilliant statesmanship the next.

Implications Numerous

The possible implications of Stalin's latest move are so numerous and intricate that it is impossible to do more than throw out a few suggestions in a brief book review. The fact that the Comintern is dissolved on paper does not necessarily mean that it actually is dissolved. It would be quite in the approved communist manner to keep the organization going secretly if it were deemed advisable.

But for a time it may not even be necessary to maintain any organizational machinery that anyone can lay his hands on in order to get the effect of united action by Communists everywhere. The Russian Communist Party remains in existence. So do the German, French, British, American and Chinese parties. The prestige of the Soviet state and the Russian Communist Party among them has hardly been lessened by recent events. As the *New York Times* pointed out, the American Communist Party accepted the "decree as if it were the new party line."

The decree itself proclaimed that "the dissolution of the Comintern is in line with the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1935," but it was precisely this Congress that formally adopted the policy of "boring from within" other organizations and seeking to destroy them! Therefore it could be supposed that the decree really heralds a program of intensified activity of Communists everywhere, including Germany and the European continent generally. They will now have the great tactical advantage of being able to claim that they are not Russian-dominated but good Germans, Frenchmen, Americans, and so on. And the combination between these "national" communist forces in European countries and the victorious Russian armies will almost certainly be made. Insofar as there is a "Russian" or a "communist" danger in post-war Europe, it is difficult to see how it has been lessened by this latest development which might rather be regarded as a superb Machiavellian stroke.

Significantly, the commentators have dealt with the decree of dissolution as an act of the Russian government rather than of the Comintern. As I see it, the policy of that government is nationalistic and increasingly so; it proceeds on the assumption that Russia is a power-state in a world of competing power-states. So judged, the conduct of the Russian government is neither substantially better nor worse than that of other governments; it is defending and advancing the "interests" of Russia by any means required.

Russia needs supplies and wants the United Nations to open up a Second Front speedily, preferably in western Europe. But many Americans, especially Roman Catholics, object to giving aid and comfort to the Communist International. Let the C.I. be dissolved, therefore, so that psychologically Russian-American relations may be eased—and incidentally perhaps, with an eye on the 1944 elections, the stigma of being pro-communist be removed from the Roosevelt Administration.

In the second place, Russia is making it clear that she wants to exercise a dominant voice in eastern European, Baltic, and Balkan affairs after the war as a measure of national security and a protection against a future renascent Germany. To obtain this, she might even make peace with a Germany no longer Hitler-controlled and leave the British and Americans holding the bag or, as previously suggested, join hands with a communist Germany after the war. But, on the one hand, this would mean wiping out the little Baltic States and possibly Poland and this would sink the Atlantic Charter—an embarrassment to Britain and the United States. And, on the other hand, this would mean a too powerful post-war Russia, from the British-American viewpoint, and an unbalanced relationship of forces.

All this obviously raises the problem of mapping out "spheres of influence," and the "dissolution" of the Comintern would be one of the items in such a bargain. What it signifies ordinary people may not know for some time.

Only if the United States were prepared to abandon its dreams of expansion and "spheres of influence" in Latin America and the Pacific; and if Great Britain were prepared to grant freedom to India and abandon its imperialism, can this game of power politics be ended and a just and durable people's peace be established. I believe that the Russian government and people are as ready as any other to participate in such an all-round advance in international affairs. But until that time, the Russian government will play the old game astutely and ruthlessly.

A. J. M.

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